

# Socialist Call

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... And The Band Played Dixie

## New Deal-Fair Deal Enters Conservative Phase With The Nomination Of Stevenson

The nomination of Adlai Stevenson as candidate for president of the Democratic Party indicates that the New Deal-Fair Deal has come to a halt. In accepting Stevenson, a middle-of-the-road New Dealer, generally cautious about expanded social welfare and critical of "socialistic" measures such as the Brannan Plan, the Democratic Party convention recognized that the New Deal-Fair Deal philosophy had reached its outermost limits. The next stage will be a defense of the measures written into law in the early days of the first Roosevelt administration.

Stevenson fills this role admirably. The selection of the Northern machine leaders of the Democratic Party, as well as of President Truman, Stevenson was acceptable to the Dixiecrat wing of the Party because of his support of states' rights on such measures as FEPC, and because of his support of sections of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Thus Stevenson, the choice of the Northern machine wing of the Party, is expected to maintain the loyalty of the Dixiecrats — Governor Shivers of Texas, who described himself as an "anti-administration, anti-Truman Democrat," called the Stevenson nomination a victory for his wing of the Party—while neutralizing the

labor and liberal wing.

The latter group which, before the convention, had boldly declared that it would drive the Southern conservatives out of the party if its policies were not adopted, was routed on every test. Lacking any strong indication of the direction toward which the Democratic Party was to move, the liberals attempted to repeat their victory of 1948 by sweeping the convention with a "strong" position.

Since this position was no advance over the 1948 platform, which had failed of enactment in a Democratic Congress, the Humphrey-Roosevelt-Moody-Lehman forces were left alone on a limb. This limb was snapped when the Stevenson forces made an agreement with the Dixiecrats by supporting the cause of the Virginia delegation whose leader, reactionary Senator Harry F. Byrd, refused to accept the liberals' resolution calling for a loyalty pledge to the Democratic candidate.

With the nomination of anti-FEPC, pro-filibuster Senator John Sparkman of Alabama as vice-presidential candidate, the breach with the South was healed.

The labor delegates permitted themselves to be saddled with most unpopular convention job,

apparently on the orders of President Truman. This consisted of the formal announcement that Vice-president Barkley would be unacceptable to labor because of his age, and because he was being supported by conservatives at the convention. For these efforts on behalf of the White House, the labor group was denounced by the Southerners for attempting to "dictate" to the convention, and received a further implied rebuke by the convention, which was aroused to a spontaneous demonstration on behalf of Barkley, a sentimental favorite, who was asked to address the convention after he had announced his withdrawal from the race.

On domestic issues, the Democratic platform again called for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, compromised on a civil rights program, and promised to support the same welfare measures which had consistently failed of adoption in Congress under past Democratic domination.

The Republican Party, two weeks before in Chicago, had selected a candidate acceptable to the "liberal" wing of the GOP. The Democrats in turn had accepted a candidate of the "conservative" wing. Two representatives of the "sophisticated" capitalist class were prepared for battle in 1952.

## AFL Blasts Controls Law As 'Too Little, Too Costly'

"Too little, too late and too costly to the American people," is the AFL thumbnail description of the new controls laws passed by Congress and recently signed by President Truman.

One provision in the new law, exempting processed fruits and vegetables from price ceilings, will alone increase the nation's food bill by 11 percent, it was officially estimated.

The Wage Stabilization Board was stripped of practically all its powers and left a hollow shell.

Rent controls were ordered killed after June 30, unless localities specifically request continuation.

The President was "requested" by Congress to invoke Taft-Hartley injunctions against the steel strike.

Wage and price controls were continued to next April 30, but new profit-guarantee provisions for retailers voted into the law will force price ceilings still higher if inflationary pressures continue.

### SEN. CAPEHART RIGHT

Only authority for priorities and allocation of scarce materials was continued for a full year.

"This bill controls neither prices nor wages," said Sen. Homer Capehart (R., Ind.)—and for once he was right.

The joint Senate-House Conference Committee, working all night to whip into shape an acceptable compromise before the June 30 deadline, killed some of

the worst provisions of the original bill adopted by the House of Representatives.

One such provision which was buried, the Talle amendment, would have limited price controls only to rationed articles or allocated materials. Another would have killed rent controls immediately.

### ADVISORY STATUS

One school of thought on Capitol Hill speculated that the House never expected those pro-

visions to become law but voted them merely so members would find it easier to obtain big business campaign contributions this fall.

Under the new law, the Wage Stabilization Board was limited solely to an "advisory" status on disputes over wages. While it retains its tripartite character, members of the WSB are subject to Senate confirmation. All power to deal with non-monetary labor-management disputes was

## Hoopes Plans Western Campaign Tour In August

Darlington Hoopes, Socialist Party candidate for President, will leave Reading next week on the first extended political trip of the 1952 campaign. The focal point of the trip is two West Coast state conventions, in Sacramento, California on August 2 and in Salem, Oregon, on August 9.

The latter is a nominating convention to put the Socialist candidates on the ballot in Oregon and all friends of the Party in that state are urged to attend.

Denver, Colorado will be the first stop in candidate Hoopes western tour. He will be in that city on July 31 and August 1. Next stop will be the Sacramento convention August 3, 4 and 5. Comrade Hoopes will have

taken away from the board. It can render advisory opinions in wage disputes only when the parties at issue or the government ask them.

"The board shall have no jurisdiction in any labor dispute," the new law says. "or with respect to any issue involved therein."



meetings in the Bay area in California, and on August 6 and 7 he will be in Los Angeles.

Following the Oregon convention in Salem on August 8, he will be in Seattle on August 10, returning east from there.

Further information can be secured from the National Office, or from the respective local organizations.

# Capitalism: Key Element In Corruption

By DARLINGTON HOOPES

(Darlington Hoopes is the Socialist candidate for president. This article is based on a talk given by Hoopes over the ABC-TV network.)

Let us for a few minutes consider the question "Why does bribery, corruption, graft and influence play such a large part in public affairs in the United States?" It cuts across old party lines. Democratic Tammany Hall in New York City was neither better nor worse than the Republican machine in corrupt and contented Philadelphia. In the 1951 elections a reform Democratic ticket ousted a crooked Republican regime in Philadelphia, while sixty miles away in Reading, ministers helped Republicans kick out a rotten racket-ridden Democratic administration. Mink coats, five percenters, influence peddlers and tax-fixers have disgraced the Truman administration, as Daugherty, Fall, Tea Pot Dome, and the Ohio Gang shamed the Republicans under Harding.

The continual recurrence of these conditions in our Federal, State and Municipal governments under both old parties should make us realize that it is not enough merely to kick out the rascals. Experience shows that with rare exceptions, such as the Socialist administrations in Milwaukee and Bridgeport, after a couple of terms, the advocates of clean government lose out or become rascals themselves.

As a result many good people have come to believe that politics is inherently bad, and that if a man wants to remain decent and honorable, he should shun public office like a plague. It is becoming increasingly difficult to get reputable men to run for public office. When they refuse, the field is wide open for scoundrels and charlatans. If, to use Drew Pearson's phrase, we want to make democracy work, we must find the answer to this problem.

#### THE BASIC CAUSE

Let us look deeper and see if we can find a basic cause of our trouble. Lincoln Steffens, one of the most searching analysts in this field, concluded that "boodle" was not the result of the wicked scheming of a few soulless bosses, but was the price we pay for our individualistic, self-centered and competitive society. Have you ever stopped to consider that no public official can take a bribe, or sell influence, unless somebody on the outside gives a bribe or buys influence?

**Who is this fellow who is willing to buy influence? Did you ever hear of a public official**

bribing another public official, or a representative of private business? You're probably laughing at the idea. You know that it just doesn't happen. In almost every instance the bribe-giver is a private businessman, a free enterpriser, if you please, who expects to make a profit out of the deal by getting an unfair advantage over his competitor.

Our history is replete with examples of large corporate interests buying public officials. On one notorious occasion the lumber companies bought the entire Wisconsin legislature. Many of the monopoly industries have received enormous grants and subsidies from the government which were obtained by bribing public officials, either directly or by paying their campaign expenses.

#### HANDOUTS TO INDUSTRY

Witness the land grants to the railroads which included most of the best mineral resources in the United States. How about the vast subsidies to shippers and airlines? What do you think of the sale of the liner United States to a private company for less than one-third of its cost? Do you believe that states rights is the real issue in the struggle for control of our off-shore oil resources. The reason the oil companies want State control is that they think it will be easier to steal the oil deposits from the States than from Uncle Sam.

Let us look into this matter a little further. It is just as wrong and just as illegal to give a bribe as it is to take a bribe. If a public official is caught taking a bribe, he is prosecuted and sent to jail. But how often have you heard of the bribe-giver being punished? Think hard and name one case. The man who corrupts a public official and thereby makes a fat profit for himself, or his company, is almost always allowed to go scot free.

Under our double standard of ethics, it is all right for private business to steal from the government, or to bribe public officials, but it is all wrong for public officials to take a bribe. Is it any wonder that we can't stop corruption? It is a Heads I win, Tails you lose proposition for the private business man. If he gets away with it, he makes a fat profit. If he gets caught, the public official goes to jail, and he is left free to bribe the next one.

Punishing the bribe-giver as well as the bribe-taker will be fairer but won't solve our problem. We have to go back and analyze Lincoln Steffens' statement that "boodle" is the price we pay for our competitive society.

A moment ago we agreed that no public of-

ficial ever bribes another public official. We can go a step further. No officer of a publicly-owned enterprise, such as a municipal light plant, bus company or port authority ever bribes a member of the City Council. Why is this true? The answer is so simple that you will wonder why you didn't think of it yourself. It is because no one can make a profit out of a public enterprise. A special favor granted to a publicly owned business will benefit everybody.

#### NO MUNICIPAL BRIBES

A special privilege, tax exemption, or other favored treatment obtained by a private business means a fat profit for its owners at the expense of the public. There is the key to our problem. Every time a public official takes a bribe, we find a private business paying the bribe. In other words, private business corrupts public officials in order to make more profit for its owners.

These private businessmen who corrupt public officials for their own personal gain, then turn around and oppose public ownership on the ground that all public officials are corrupt, and can't be trusted to run a business. They plead the result of their own corrupt action as an argument against the people socializing the industries and running them for the public welfare.

They know that the argument is phony but they hope that you will fall for it and let them continue running the industries, corrupting public officials and making handsome profits for themselves.

I want to drive home this point. Bribery and corruption of public officials are part and parcel of the private profit, free enterprise system. You can't get rid of the one until you get rid of the other. The only answer to our problem is democratic Socialism. When the people collectively take over the industries, and operate them democratically for public welfare, bribery and corruption of public officials will cease.

No doubt a crook will occasionally get into public office and try to knock down public funds for himself, but he will soon be caught, and in any event his take will be peanuts compared to what private industry is stealing from the public today.

The Socialist Party advocates public ownership. If this seems logical to you, I hope you will talk it over with your friends and neighbors and help us roll up a tremendous Socialist protest vote in November. If you want to help in our campaign, write The National Office, Socialist Party, 303 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

# Are The Old Parties Beginning To Crack?

By FRED SHULMAN

(Fred Shulman, for many years an instructor in political science at the Rand School, was for ten years a member of the executive committee of the Social Democratic Federation.)

Every four years our people are treated to the spectacle of presidential nominating conventions, during which aspirants for the most powerful elective office in the world parade their wares openly before the 1200 odd delegates, and secretly before the party bosses who, in any event, will make the selections.

This is an unusual year because the primary contests compelled the would-be candidates to wage furious and costly battles to woo state delegations in advance of the convention and to show the extent of their claims to popular support.

And so our hopefuls have charged back and forth across the land, having recourse to coon skin hats, large campaign buttons, carefully emasculated press conferences, interminable hand shaking and the kissing of babies, and of some who are older than babies.

The power and prestige of the American President has attained such great importance that the contending aspirants and the

pressure groups backing them have spent more millions of dollars in pre-convention campaigns than some years ago was spent by both large parties for the actual elections themselves.

#### LARGE POCKETBOOKS

I use the words "both large parties" not to indicate that their ideas are large, or that their vision and program are broad in scope, but alas, merely because

their pocket books are large and because their thirst for jobs for their followers knoweth no bounds.

It is doubtful that there exists any voter so naive as to believe that either of the major parties seek office for reasons other than personal power, economic nourishment for their leaders at public expense, and for the billions of dollars of public funds that

can be diverted to the "right" people.

The public is well aware of the hollow pretenses of the party platforms, written in July solely for purposes of exhibition between the week of the convention and day of election. But in the absence of an effective, independent third party, the voter appears helpless and must go along with what appears to be the least undesirable candidate presented for his consideration.

The candidates of the major parties, while zestfully elaborating each other with sticks of straw, are most careful to pledge allegiance to the good old two party system. They realize full well the danger to the boodle system, that would lie in an aggressive, independent third party of farmers, workers and middle class salaried people. They may

attack each other for faults both real and fancied, but they are united as one, in the face of the threat that Americans may create a real peoples party.

#### BEFORE AND AFTER

The office seekers denounce each others qualifications with a bitterness that waxes ever greater right down to the wire, but they cancel the value of everything they have been saying, by stating that, if the other man is selected by their party, they will give him their unswerving loyalty and support. So and so, they say before the nominating vote, is a crack-pot, an incompetent, without experience, and his selection will be a great public calamity, both at home and abroad—but if he is selected, we will fight tooth and nail for his election as president.

(Continued on Page 4)

# Burma: On The Road To Democratic Socialism

By U BA SWE

(Leading the countries of Asia in introducing measures designed to improve the lot of its people has been the Socialist-influenced government of Burma. A description of the measures already in effect, and those planned, is given here by U Ba Swe, former general secretary of the Burma Socialist Party, and minister of defense in the current government.)

We are now leading a revolution; we are founding a new era; we are writing a chapter in history; we are building up a social structure. But this leads to other questions: What kind of revolution? What kind of era? What kind of history? What kind of social structure? In what manner are we laying the foundation stone for the construction of a Burmese Socialist state? We must know what we are doing and how we are to go about it.

We are now constructing the Burmese Socialist structure based on five fundamental principles:

1. People's Democracy.
2. People's Economy.
3. People's Education.
4. People's Health.
5. People's Social Security.

#### PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

A word about People's Democracy. Why should we set up democratic machinery in administration? Since the day of independence the governmental machinery has been bureaucratic. This machinery, which was set up by the governing race to govern the subject race, is extremely inappropriate for an independent nation.

During the transitory period we have had to accept what machinery we had; but it is highly antithetical to carry our revolution side by side with this bureaucratic machinery. Hence our administrative machinery must be changed to conform to our revolutionary idea.

Our Constitution says that all powers shall be "derived from the people." We have enacted laws relating to the democratization of our administrative machinery and have made certain amendments in detail to bring them up to date.

It has already been determined that self-government should start in the villages and advance, step by step, to towns, townships and districts. In that way, People's democratic principles should have been infused. But our villages enjoy no peace as yet. So we cannot say that the democratic way of life has been fully realized. Unless we can apply correct principles to the basic stratum of society, our work will remain meaningless and unsuccessful.

Moreover, the democratization of administration should not proceed in one direction only. It must be developed along with nationalization of the land. Only then will it have any meaning at all. Only then will we succeed.

#### PEOPLE'S ECONOMY

The second fundamental is the People's Economy, which can be divided into five main spheres: 1. Production; 2. Transport; 3. Exports and Imports; 4. Internal Trade; 5. Banking.

Who were our exploiters in all five of these sections of the People's Economy?

The essential products of our country are rice, timber, oil and minerals. Who controlled the rice trade? Who owned the land that produced the rice crop?

Over sixty per cent of the cultivable lands were in the hands of Chettiar, and the Chinese and Indian mill-owners—the absentee landlords. The Burmese produced the rice, but the profits went to capitalists.

Our program envisages three stages for laying the foundation stone of the People's Economy. They are State Enterprise, Co-



**LOW COST HOUSING**—National Housing Board—Burma Government. In three out of five dwellings water is handcarried into the dwellings from an outside source, generally a street faucet or well.

operative Enterprise, and Private Enterprise.

As regards State Enterprise, we have already nationalized those industries which call for immediate nationalization. Regarding such industries which require nationalization but cannot be nationalized immediately, we have adopted the principle of progressive nationalization.

The rice and timber industries and transport systems are now State-owned. The principle of progressive nationalization has been applied to the oil and mineral industries.

There are certain industries which are not of such magnitude as to be turned into State enterprises, but which cannot be left in private hands without being detrimental to the public interest. Such enterprises are to be brought into the domain of co-operative movements.

Lastly for the economic and industrial development of the country, our own nationals are being afforded major privileges in the matter of their private enterprises.

In this way we are fighting for economic liberation by setting up the People's Economy on sure foundations.

#### LAND NATIONALIZED

Concerning production, the rice industry has been entirely nationalized. No capitalist can monopolize it. We are even nationalizing the land.

The timber industry has also been nationalized. The oil and mineral industries are being nationalized progressively.

The entire transport system has been nationalized. The Inland Water Transport, the Airways and the Railways are all State-owned. At present the only transport system that still remains to be nationalized is transport by motorbus and motorboat owned by our nationals.

We intend to bring it under co-operative enterprise.

As regards the import and export trade, all kinds of export trade—rice, timber, oil and minerals—have been nationalized. The State controls imports.

Arrangements are now underway for the State to have a monopoly of the essential imports. We are going to do it step by step.

As for Internal Trade, we are putting it on a co-operative basis, in a progressive way.

Finally, the Central banking system is under State control as the Union Bank. But apart from this the banking business in Burma is mostly privately owned.

The State has still to establish Agricultural Banks, Co-operative Banks and Commercial Banks. We aim to nationalize banking progressively.

#### PEOPLE'S EDUCATION

We now come to the third fundamental basis of our revolution, namely, People's Education.

What have we achieved to date? We have introduced free schooling, not only for primary and secondary education, but for university education, too. Our sons and daughters can now become engineers and doctors if they have the necessary aptitude and application.

There is no longer any question of education being denied to our own countrymen because their parents cannot pay for it. Education will be made accessible not only here in our country, but foreign education will also be made available to the student who is above average.

Students with State grants are already being sent abroad. We mean to take another step in that direction by introducing both free and compulsory education when conditions have so

improved as to enable us to each citizen. For instance, we have different programs of work for peasants and farmers. We have liberated our peasants from feudalism and made them shareholders. Our next step will be to give them relief and security.

Regarding the workers, our task will be in three stages, namely:

1. The betterment and development of the general conditions of the laborers;
2. Restitution of their rights and privileges and bringing them relief;
3. Awarding them social security.

Where do we stand today? We are still in stage one. We have passed a great deal of legislation for the betterment of labor conditions. We are about to pass on benefits accruing from the schemes drawn up after due legislation.

This system must be radically changed. Scientific knowledge should serve not only the few but the entire people. In the same way medical knowledge should be for the general welfare.

Modern drugs should be made available to all. We shall try to achieve a State where deaths are no longer due to inability to pay for medical and health services.

How are we achieving our objective?

We have the Child and Maternity Welfare Plans. The scheme has not yet been extended to each home in each village; but so far it has been started in all principal towns; and progressively the whole plan will become operative in every home in every village.

There is also a scheme for the training of Assistant Health Officers, who will be sent out to every village where we have not yet made provisions.

In this way we are initiating the State's health services for the villages where doctors, nurses, dispensaries, and maternity wards will be made available to the villagers.

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# The Social Heritage Of John Dewey

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

(Harry W. Laidler, executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy, was for many years associated with Dr. Dewey in the furtherance of campaigns for democracy and freedom.)

On June 1, 1952, John Dewey, foremost American philosopher and educator, and one of America's greatest humanitarians, died in New York City at the age of 92.

For decades to come scholars and the plain people of the world will be evaluating the monumental contributions of John Dewey to the culture of his time.

They will find that his contributions to social thinking and action were of major importance. In his chosen field of philosophy, he regarded philosophy as a guide not only to individual development, but as "a method of locating and interpreting the more serious of the conflicts that occur in life" and as a genuine aid to the solution of these social conflicts.

He was for the hardest kind of thinking on all of the problems that affect man, but he insisted that thinking and contemplation should not be an end in itself. It should be a means to constructive activity in the service of mankind. As such, thinking might well have a revolutionary effect on the social institutions of the day.

"Let us admit the case of the conservative," he once said about the thinking process, "If we once start thinking no one can guarantee where we shall come out, except that many objects, ends and institutions are doomed. Every thinker puts some portion of an apparently stable world in peril and no one can wholly predict what will emerge in its place."

In the field of education, Dr. Dewey, by common consent, did more than any other man to democratize the education process; to liberate teachers and students "from the tyranny of authority, dogma and indoctrination," and to furnish an educational basis for democratic social change.

## CHAIRMAN OF CIPA

In the field of politics, he was constantly searching for a political instrument that would adequately express the democratic aspirations of the people of America. After he had passed his seventieth year, he served as vigorous Chairman for several years of the Conference for Independent Political Action, which sought to develop in America a democratic farmer-labor-socialist political alignment.

He saw "no hope for sanity and reality in American life except through the agency of a new party," and frequently gave his name and energies to the election campaigns of Socialist candidates, and, more recently, of those of the Liberal Party.

Dewey was never fooled by those who contended that the way to a "people's democracy" was through dictatorship, and ever insisted on the importance of political democracy as a means as well as an end. No modern state was worthy of the name in the eyes of Dewey, which did not guarantee "intellectual and moral freedom, freedom of inquiry and expression, freedom of association in work, recreation and religious pur-

(Continued from Page 2)

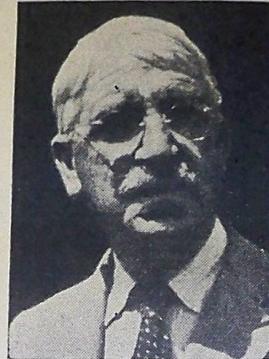
It seems to me that the American people are beginning to be restless about these straw man battles. Many people agree with each candidate that all the others are undesirable. They are demanding some clarification about the tremendous national and world problems that beset us.

## DOUBLE TALK EXPERTS

Our people live in daily fear of economic collapse on the domestic front, the horror of global war abroad. They will not long endure parties and candidates

who offer solutions involving fancy head gear, glamorous movie stars, and fatuous double talk. They look abroad over the troubled world and note that their fellows in the other democratic nations have built strong socialist and third parties advocating essential, practical reforms, and they are getting ready to do likewise.

They are less and less intrigued



poses; freedom of intercourse among nations."

In the field of economics, John Dewey was an ardent believer in industrial democracy. He did much to encourage the development of democratic labor unions, and spent countless days and weeks not only in building a union among New York teachers, but in saving this union and the American Federation of Teachers from the dictatorial control of communist elements. He was also an ardent advocate of the consumers' cooperative movement as another movement toward democracy in our industrial life.

While Dr. Dewey always hesitated to tag himself with an economic label, he was strongly critical of the present economic system based primarily on profit, and favored the development of a democratic social order where industry would be run primarily for service, not for profit.

## CRITICIZED MONEY CULTURE

"We live," he declared in his *Individualism Old and New*, "in a money culture . . . Our technique and technology are controlled by interest in private profit. There lies the serious and fundamental defect of our civilization, the source of the secondary and induced evils to which so much attention is given."

The leaders of our present corporate, profit-seeking economy, Dr. Dewey declared, have little sense of social value in their work. "One cannot look into the inner consciousness of his fellows; but if there is any degree of inner contentment on the part of those who form our pecuniary oligarchy, the evidence is sadly lacking. As for the many, they are impelled hither and yon by forces beyond their control."

Dr. Dewey felt that the present economic order had not only failed in this respect, but that it had led to unjust inequalities in the distribution of income, to gross competitive wastes, to periodic depressions and to much economic autocracy.

## PLANS AND PLANNING

"The problem today," he declared in *Individualism Old and New*, "remains one of using available intelligence, of employing the immense resources science has put at our disposal . . . Social control effected through organized application of social intelligence is the sole form of social control that can and will get rid of existing evils

without landing us finally in some form of coercive control from above and outside."

In thinking ahead to a new society, Dr. Dewey drew a distinction between "a planned society" and "a continuously planning society." "The former," he declared, "requires fixed blueprints imposed from above and therefore involving reliance upon physical and psychological force to secure conformity to them. The latter means the release of intelligence through the widest form of cooperative give and take."

In general, while Dr. Dewey, as a philosopher, did not go specifically into many concrete problems of social change, his general point of view was that of a democratic socialist. In a letter to Jim Cork, he declared some years ago, "I think that on the basis of Liberalism and Social Action, and to some extent Individualism Old and New, I can be classed as a democratic socialist. If I were permitted to define 'socialism' and 'socialist' I would so classify myself today." He added: "I think that the issue is not yet sufficiently definite (in respect to how socialism will be worked out) to permit of any answer save it has to be worked out experimentally. Probably my experimentation goes deeper than any other 'ism'." Cork adds: "As far as the proponents of democratic socialism are concerned, there can be no objection to submitting the methods proposed to achieve their ends to the sharpest scrutiny."

The progressive movement can well afford finally to emulate the youthful and forward-looking spirit exemplified by Professor Dewey throughout his entire career. Dr. Dewey was always keenly alive to further fruitful social experiments that might serve to advance the well-being of his fellowmen.

Whenever I saw him during his long term of office as President and Honorary President of the League for Industrial Democracy, I never found him looking back to the "good old days of the past" and bemoaning their passage. His talks were always about what was ahead.

"Where do we go from here?" he asked his audience at the conclusion of his annual address as President of the LID in 1940. "The only possible answer," he declared, "is Forward, not Back." "While we have an enormous amount to learn," he continued, "we can learn what we need to know in the very process of acting together to create a democracy that shall be a living reality in every aspect and reach of our common life."

And in one of his last public utterances, at that memorable dinner given to him on his ninetieth birthday, he declared, "I am happy to be able to believe that the significance of this celebration consists not in warming over of past years, even though they be four-score and ten, but in dedication to the work that lies ahead. The order of the day is 'Forward March!'

If Dr. Dewey's followers adopted this one motto from this wise, lovable, courageous, socially visioned "Philosopher-saint," the world in the years to come would indeed be a better place in which to live.

\*See Sidney Hook, John Dewey, Philosopher of Science and Freedom, A Symposium, p. 349.

## Old Parties Cracking?

by the presidential gallop of the candidates of the major parties.

It is known by almost everyone that the successful candidate of the Democratic or Republican parties will not preside over a single united party, but instead will hold an uncertain, temporary and intermittent sway over an amorphous collection of mutually contradictory groups who cannot act harmoniously even over the distribution of the booty.

## NO LONGER PARTIES

This election is demonstrating beyond doubt that there really isn't a Republican or Democratic Party any more. The Democrats have wings as far apart as the poles. The same is true of the Republicans. That is why party lines mean exactly nothing in Congress when the chips are down on important issues.

It is time we learned this vital lesson and said, "A plague on both your houses. We will erect our own house in the form of a powerful third party with a platform dedicated to the best interests of the great majority of the people, and not for the benefit of big business or of special privileged classes."

Such a new third party grouping is inevitable, but its advent can be hastened or retarded by the expression of popular interest and intelligence. Which shall it be? Sooner or later!

# The SOCIALIST CALL

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## Delaware Court Strikes At 'Separate But Equal' Doctrine

Striking at the "separate but equal doctrine," a Delaware court has opened the doors of two "white" public schools to Negroes.

In deciding the case of Belton v. Gebhart, Chancellor Collins J. Seitz of the Delaware Court of Chancery put the issue squarely up to the U.S. Supreme Court. "I believe," he said, "the 'separate but equal' doctrine in education should be rejected, but I also believe its rejection must come from that court."

His decision has been hailed by the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League, which stated in a joint memorandum:

"As far as we are aware, this is the first time that a court has made a finding to the effect that segregation is discriminatory in itself regardless of whether or not the facilities of the separate schools for whites and Negroes are equal."

The groups point out that until this decision, the view has been expressed only in dissenting opinions. Most well-known is that of Judge Waring in the

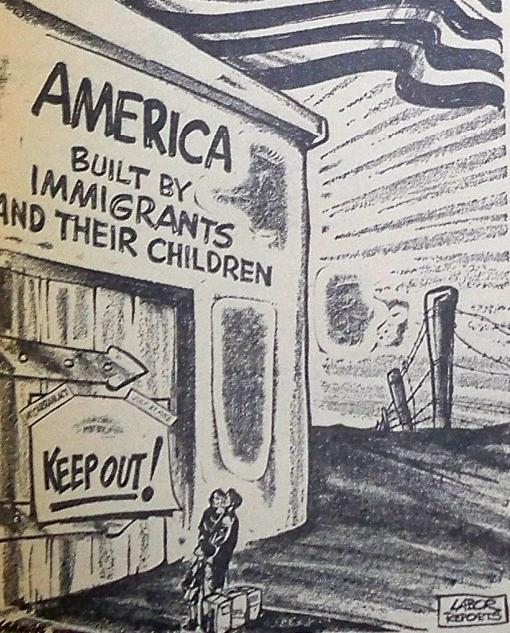
South Carolina school case, which the Supreme Court has agreed to review.

The two organizations also lauded the Delaware court's opinion on the equality of facilities. They said:

"The test of 'substantial equality' applied by Chancellor Seitz in the instant case is a stringent one. To satisfy the test the facilities and opportunities of both schools must be substantially equal as to each of a series of individual factors. One of these . . . is the time necessary to reach the school. Hence, a Negro pupil is denied his constitutional right to equal protection if he is refused admission to a school which is substantially nearer to his home than the corresponding Negro school."

Both parties to the suit have announced that they will appeal the case to the Supreme Court. The state is appealing from the order compelling it to admit Negro children to "white" schools. The Negro plaintiffs have filed a cross-appeal against the refusal of the lower court to grant a declaratory judgment outlawing segregation per se.

"ORDEAL BY PEDIGREE"



## Books In Review

# Orwell In Spain

HOMAGE TO CATALONIA. By George Orwell. Harcourt. \$3.75.

In an age when democracy has been abused and perverted the late George Orwell reasserted its true values more than any other contemporary writer. Emerging from his totalitarian catastrophe into which the world is drifting. What distinguished Orwell was his sense of outrage against injustice and the sincerity of his political beliefs.

Orwell brought to writing two rare qualities: a courageous spirit and a concern for his fellow man. Underlying his books and essays was a strong dislike for the forces that were working against democracy. He considered it the writer's duty to defend freedom, and his own life was bound up with an attempt to hammer these ideas home into the public consciousness.

All of Orwell's qualities are exhibited in "Homage To Catalonia," a book about his experiences in the Spanish Civil War. Orwell went to Spain at the beginning of the Civil War with the intention of writing some newspaper articles; but instead he joined the army, engaged in trench warfare around Huesca and was wounded in the neck one morning while he was in the middle of a quiet conversation.

Orwell, unlike many intellectuals who went to Spain, did not enlist in the International Brigade, but joined the P.O.U.M. (Workers Party of Marxist Unity), a small Catalonian political party linked with the Trotskyists and Anarcho-Syndicalists. In the trenches of Aragon, Orwell breathed the sour, fetid smell of war, gathered firewood, brooded over the old rifles, wondered where the ammunition was and where the artillery and the war was too.

### THE AMATEUR WAR

Although the war was well under way when Orwell went to the front, the fighting was of an amateurish kind. The soldiers were full of revolutionary ardor, but ignorant of the facts of war. "Discipline," Orwell writes, "did not exist; if a man disliked an order he would step out of the ranks and argue fiercely with the officer."

The training given to the recruits consisted of old-fashioned parade ground drill. There were no machine guns available for instruction and hardly any rifles.

When Orwell returned to Barcelona from his round of duty in the trenches in April, 1937, he was surprised to learn that the revolutionary atmosphere in the town, which he had noticed on his arrival in Spain, had disappeared and its aspect became thoroughly middle class. "When the train had rolled through Sabadell and into Barcelona, we stepped into an atmosphere that was scarcely less alien and hostile to us and our kind than if this had been Paris or London."

This change he attributes to the Communists who, Orwell says, were a reactionary influence in the government. It is now generally recognized that the Communists at that time wanted to win the war first, while the P.O.U.M. insisted that revolution and war must go hand-in-hand. In the beginning, Orwell had no patience with the P.O.U.M. view. However, he

changed his mind after he returned to Barcelona again and saw what was happening.

The Communists were suppressing the P.O.U.M. and liquidating thousands who did not accept their leadership. Orwell saw loyal soldiers who were devoted to the Republican cause imprisoned without just cause. He saw thousands of postcards which denounced the P.O.U.M. as "fascist" and "counter-revolutionary."

This pattern of Communist intrigue and ruthlessness flowed from Stalin's policy in the late thirties. Stalin, frightened of fascism, wanted a military alliance with capitalist England and France. Stalin knew that all-out political and military cooperation with the Soviet Union would find little support among conservative circles in England and France. Therefore, in order to win the friendship of these potential allies, Stalin's agents

suppressed the revolutionary movement in Spain.

"Homage to Catalonia," first published in 1938, is one of the few books on the Spanish Civil War which is worth reading today. The quality that stands out in "Homage to Catalonia" is Orwell's ability to write about people with feeling, understanding and affection. His descriptions of the men he fought with, and the skirmishes with the enemy, are extraordinarily revealing.

In spite of the many evil memories which he carried away from Spain, Orwell never lost faith in democracy as a living issue. Imbued with a sense of human dignity, Orwell knew that if socialism were to succeed it would have to be compatible with common decency. This was the touchstone of his faith and more than any other writer of our time, he lived by it.

GABRIEL GERSH

## ICFTU Condemns Malan's Racism In South Africa

The General Council of the ICFTU, which recently concluded its sessions in Berlin, unanimously passed the following resolution on racial conditions in South Africa following its proposal by Donald MacDonald, secretary-treasurer of the Canadian Congress of Labor:

Whereas in the Union of South Africa a frightening spectacle is being enacted which will lead to tragedy not only for that country and the continent of Africa but for the free world as a whole; and

Whereas the attempted legalization of brutal racial prejudice and enslavement of millions of human beings by the Government of the Union of South Africa merits the unanimous condemnation of the free trade union movement;

This First General Council of the ICFTU, meeting in Berlin on 1-5 July, 1952:

Expresses its firm opposition, on behalf of its \$4 million members who comprise every race, color and creed, to this brutal undemocratic attack upon the liberties of the people of the Union of South Africa, and

While recognizing the difficult problems which confront the Union of South Africa,

Attacks the manner in which the Government of that country has sought to impose a solution which violates the basic fundamental principles of freedom and democracy; and

Expresses its deepest abhorrence of this cruel attempted imposition, in one section of the free world, of a master race society inspired by totalitarian motives;

Extends our hand in brotherhood to the democratic peoples of the Union of South Africa; and

Calls upon the Government of the Union of South Africa to wipe out this stain which today brings shame to the entire free world.



*Calling The Shots*

## The New Revisionism

By HERMAN SINGER

One of the early casualties in an election year is respect for the whole truth. This is soon followed by a decliningly casual attitude toward facts. And, when the campaigns begin to roll, interpretations take place, in which facts begin to resemble fantasy, and vice-versa.

Even before the Democratic Party had selected its standard-bearer, this process became visible. On separate occasions, W. Averell Harriman, Mutual Security Administrator, and Francis Biddle, former attorney general and now chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, presented their views regarding the Yalta Conference of 1945.

According to Mr. Biddle, the Yalta agreements extracted by the late President Roosevelt from Stalin represented a diplomatic victory of a high order. Mr. Biddle feels that only President Roosevelt's canniness prevented a much more disastrous development. The Yalta agreement, in this view, was the very best that could be obtained under the circumstances.

The attitude of Harriman, who was at the Yalta Conference, is that the agreements executed there were more than justified by later developments. Stalin's repudiation of the terms of the Yalta agreement were essential to prove to the world that the Soviet dictator could not be trusted. In retrospect, states Mr. Harriman, only such a vast failure to honor his written word would have convinced the world that Stalin was anything but a gentleman of the old school.

Since one of the major elements of the Yalta agreement concerned the fate of Poland, it is instructive to consider this dictum in the light of what the Yalta conferees agreed to regarding that country.

Politically, the agreement demanded of the Allies that Polish resistance groups, directed by a committee in London, be abandoned for the so-called Lublin committee, a Stalinist-controlled organization. This committee was to be broadened by the inclusion of "democratic" elements, handpicked by Stalin. The possibility of free elections was hinted at in the agreement, but this was meaningless, since the Americans and the British acquiesced in the Soviet demand that the Lublin committee be given recognition.

In this section of the agreement, as in some of the others, there was more than a question of making a compact, and waiting patiently while Stalin proved that his word was unreliable. It was an agreement to turn over, without protest, the direction of an entire nation to the ministrations of Stalinist stooges, and it was a startling sell-out of a resistance group which had fought the Nazis, and which had at all times maintained relations with the Allies.

More important, Soviet-Polish relations in the six years before the Yalta agreement were such as to make clear, without the necessity of further demonstration, the fact that Stalin's attitude toward Russia's neighboring countries was anything but friendly. In 1939, immediately after the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, the Red Army occupied one-half of Poland, one occasion when Stalin kept to the letter of his agreement—with Hitler. Four years later the Polish Resistance began an uprising in the expectation that aid would be forthcoming from the Red Army, camped outside the gates of Warsaw. For sixty-three days the Red Army waited, while the Poles were slaughtered. Then Stalin gave the word for the Red Army to move into Warsaw.

Thus, Stalin's talent for deviousness—directed impartially at friend and foe—hardly needed the Yalta agreement to establish itself, and it is certainly stretching a rationalization to its limits to say, as Mr. Harriman now does, that the Yalta agreement was necessary to show up Stalinism.

Of course, the extremist Democratic Party statements erected to defend the Yalta agreement arise out of the need to counter the Republican criticisms, although the Republicans were generally silent when the agreements were made. It is true too that the Yalta-type agreements have been replaced by a sharp anti-Soviet attitude.

These later developments, however, hardly constitute a defense of what is likely to be considered one of the major diplomatic fiascoes in which the U.S. was involved. Election year revisions of history are commonplace. But they have no more justification when they come from the "clean, liberal, incorruptible" wing of the Democratic Party than when they are developed by the "dinosaurs" of the GOP.

## Every Man A Capitalist In U.S.? Facts On Shareholders Say No

By CHARLES TAIBI

(Charles Taibi is a regular contributor to the SOCIALIST CALL.) The fact that a recent study, "Share Ownership in the United States," shows that there are 6,500,000 share-holders of investor-owned corporations has been trumpeted forth as an indication of the "democratic" ownership of industry by most of the newspapers and magazines in the country. But it takes just a little probing beneath the surface to explode this contention.

One of the major findings of the study, upon which most of the wildest claims have been based, has been the first reliable breakdown of shareholder income distribution. The figures given are the following:

1. 32 per cent of shareholders have annual incomes of less than \$5,000.
2. 44 per cent of shareholders have incomes of between \$5,000 and \$10,000 per year.
3. 24 per cent of shareholders have annual incomes in excess of \$10,000.

### ERRONEOUS CONCLUSIONS

Though the report is somewhat cautious about its inferences from these figures, it has been widely concluded that owning stock is not predominantly a prerogative of the well-to-do.

But this is an admissible conclusion only if these percentages are considered by themselves alone, for, then, both 32 per cent and 44 per cent are larger than 24 per cent, and that's that.

But, to get at the truth, we have to look at another distribution of income and do some analysis:

1. The 32 per cent of the shareholders who make less than \$5,000 a year are about 2,200,000—or about 14 per cent of the 30,500,000 families with incomes of less than \$5,000.

2. The 44 per cent of the shareholders who make between \$5,000 and \$10,000 are about 2,800,000—or about 35 per cent of the 8,000,000 families who make between \$5,000 and \$10,000.

3. The 24 per cent of the shareholders who make more than \$10,000 are about 1,600,000—or about 120 per cent of the families making more than \$10,000! (This reveals only the fact

that the shareholders distribution by income group was based on family income, and that there are more stockholders in the top income group than there are families.)

### LEGITIMATE CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions we must draw are therefore quite different from those of the study:

(1) In the under \$5,000 group, there is only one stockholder in every seven families.

(2) In the "middle" group, there are 35 stockholders in every 100 families.

(3) In the over \$10,000 group, there are six stockholders in every five families.

Having established these facts, the use of the study's own data about the distribution of shares makes the conclusions which many capitalist apologists have tried to draw all the more ridiculous. For example, examination of this data indicates that the typical shareholder in the under \$5,000 group probably is realizing an income of no more than \$10 per year from his "share" of the capitalist system.

And other data indicates that 17 per cent of the miraculous 6,500,000 own at least one share of the stock of the Bell Telephone System, but none of them owns more than 1/20 of 1 per cent of it, rich or poor.

So, it would seem that the dream of capitalism for the modern Everyman is one that hasn't come true to date and that working for a living is still the thing.

At this point, therefore, the 15,000,000 members of labor organizations are a much more significant component of the social order than the widely-hailed 6,500,000.

### 100 Companies Report \$60 Billion Assets

America's 100 largest manufacturing companies at the end of 1951 had total assets of \$60.128 billion with an average employment of 42,000 according to the National City Bank's recent monthly letter.

Standard Oil of New Jersey topped the list with total assets of \$4.707 billion. The average investment of the 100 companies was \$14,000 for each employee but varied widely among the companies representing different industries.

The investment average ranged from about \$7,000 per employee for companies making tires, automobiles, electrical equipment and food products to \$50,000 for tobacco products, the bank letter disclosed.

The Bank's letter listed 35 corporations having more than 50,000 shareholders at the end of 1951. Fifty-two of the 100 largest companies had more shareholders than employees and the overall average was 5 shareholders for every four employees.

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## LIFE OF THE PARTY

### ALASKA

For information concerning the Socialist Party in Alaska, write to Nilo Komarov, P.O. Box 231, College, Alaska.

### CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles. The regular meeting of Local Los Angeles was held on Monday, July 14, at Party headquarters, 1904 South Arlington Ave. Harry Kantor, political science instructor and author, spoke on the Republican National Convention.

A second in the series of talks by Harry Kantor, dealing with the Democratic Convention, will be held on Monday, July 28, at 8:15 pm. The discussion will analyze the platform, personalities and trends in the Democratic Party from a Socialist viewpoint. Admission is free and you are urged to bring your friends.

For information about future activities in the area, write to the Party at 1904 South Arlington or telephone Note, new phone number: Parkway 971-1.

East Bay. Information concerning Party activities can be secured from the office, 6025 Adeline, Oakland 8.

To be fully informed about the Socialist Party in California, subscribe to its publication, The Socialist Advocate, \$1 a year.

### COLORADO

The annual state convention of the Socialist Party in Colorado was held in Denver on June 22. Hugh Finkle was re-elected state chairman, and Aileen Whitehead, state secretary. Frances Goodman was selected state treasurer and Charles Axelson assistant treasurer. Members of the State Executive Committee are Carle Whitehead, William Reynard, Sig Goodman, Donna Rupert, with Fred Gaspard as alternate. The SEC, which will serve as campaign committee, was given power to determine where Congressional and legislative candidates would be run.

CALL readers interested in helping to put Colorado on the ballot this year are asked to communicate with Aileen Whitehead, P.O. Box 775, Denver. In order to sign a Socialist petition, Colorado voters are urged to stay out of the primaries on September 9.

The Socialist Open Forum is held 1 p.m. on the second and fourth Wednesdays of every month at the Universalist Church, East Colfax Avenue and Lafayette, Denver. Socialist Party meetings are held the fourth Tuesday of every month. Phone FR 9498 for further information, or write to P.O. Box 775, Denver.

Carle Whitehead, Socialist candidate for Congress from Denver, began a series of views of the national conventions at the Socialist Open Forum, July 23, at the Universalist Church, East Colfax and Lafayette Street. Socialist Party State Chairman, Hugh M. Fickle, announced that five Socialists will be candidates for the State Legislature. They are Charles R. Axelson, Selig Goodman, Henry Neumann and August Patterson, of Denver, and Fred Gaspard of Englewood.

### KANSAS

Ida Beloof, state secretary, has announced the filing of Socialist Party candidates Darlington Hoopes and Samuel H. Friedman in that state.

### ILLINOIS

For information concerning the Illinois ballot drive, contact Dick Fredricksen, 5721 South Kenwood, Chicago 37.

### INDIANA

Readers who can help to put the Party on the ballot in Indiana are asked to get in touch with Lawrence

Brayton, P.O. Box 1004, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Copies of the SOCIALIST CALL are now on sale at the news stand at the corner of Wayne and Calhoun Streets in Fort Wayne.

### MAINE

Howe D. Higgins, Clark's Point Road, Southwest Harbor, Maine, is in charge of the petition drive in that state and would appreciate hearing from those who can help.

### MARYLAND

The drive to put Maryland on the ballot is under way. If you can help, write to the national office.

### MASSACHUSETTS

Local Boston holds regular educational and business meetings on the first and third Wednesdays of the month. Meetings are held on Boston Common every Sunday afternoon at 4 p.m. For further information, phone state secretary Julius Bernstein, JA 2-0363 or write to 11 Rocky Nook Terrace, Jamaica Plain 30.

### MICHIGAN

Information concerning Party activities can be secured from the Party office, 3751 Grand River, Detroit.

### MINNESOTA

Information concerning Party activities can be secured from 2008 Fairmont Avenue, c/o Sibley.

### NEW JERSEY

For information concerning state activities, write to Box 812, Newark 1, New Jersey.

Camden Branch meets weekly at 604 Edgewood Avenue, Audubon, at 8:15 p.m. on Thursdays. Information concerning activities in the area can be secured from the same address or by phoning Audubon 3-4820.

### NEW YORK

The petition campaign to put New York state on the ballot opens on July 31. Those able to help are urged to get in touch with Sigmund Goldstein, state secretary or Phyllis Ganguly, city secretary, at 303 Fourth Avenue, New York 10. Or telephone GR 5-6521.

### OREGON

Information concerning state activities can be secured from the state office, Box 154, Brooks, Oregon.

### OHIO

The next meeting of the State Executive Committee will be held on Sunday, July 27 at 1 p.m. in Mansfield at the Hotel Mansfield-Leland. The meeting will consider reorganization and planning of activity.

### PENNSYLVANIA

Local Berks. The campaign is well underway with street meetings being held twice weekly and getting good response. A drive for registration is under way. The Local Berks Executive Committee and Labor Lyceum Association held regular meetings on Wednesday, July 23.

Local Bucks. Samuel H. Friedman, Socialist candidate for Vice President, was the featured speaker at the annual Local Bucks picnic on Sunday, July 20.

Philadelphia. Presidential candidate Darlington Hoopes spoke at the first Philadelphia campaign meeting on Friday, June 10, following a local television program on which he appeared.

### WASHINGTON

Information about state activities can be secured by writing to 8401 41st Street, S.W., Seattle 6, or phoning WE 6354.

The annual Seattle picnic will be held on Sunday, July 27.

### WISCONSIN

Information concerning Party activities can be secured from the Party office at 536 West Juneau, Milwaukee.

## YOU CAN HAVE IT TOO

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Director, DEVERE ALLEN

Published in the New York Metropolitan Area  
at Wilton, Conn.

## Oil Workers Union Demands U.S. Protest Anti-Labor Moves Of Venezuelan Dictatorship

Right on the doorstep of the United States a vicious military dictatorship is persecuting and torturing our brother oil workers. We think the United States government should do something about it.

We refer to Venezuela, where a military junta is carrying on brutalities and tortures which we doubt have been matched in the 20th century except by Hitler.

Principal victims of the barbarities of the Venezuelan dictatorship are the leaders of democratic oil unions in Venezuela.

These union leaders have been tortured in bestial fashion in the prisons of Caracas. A few of them have escaped to live in exile in other nations. Most of them are now rotting to death in the concentration camp of Guasima which is on a disease-ridden jungle island in the delta of the Orinoco river. This island has no shelter for its 800 political prisoners. Food is insufficient. Despite the extremely unhealthy nature of the place there is not a single doctor.

### CLOSE TO U.S.

These things are happening in a country which, in today's air age, is quite close to our shores. Yet there seems to be in America a conspiracy of silence concerning this western hemisphere toehold of dictatorship. The

newspapers have in general ignored this situation. The only daily paper we know of which has printed anything about it is the New York Times. The commercial press conveniently ignores the Venezuelan situation even though it has plenty of space to report slave conditions in the remainder of the world.

We are not surprised that the daily press has rung down a curtain of silence, but we have clung to the hope that the U.S. government would do or say something about this outcropping of despotism so near our borders.

This newspaper, as well as some others in the trade union field, has called attention several times to the atrocities in Venezuela. International trade union organizations have reported the conditions. The situation has been

called to the attention of the U.S. government.

We think our government should do something about it. We do not suggest that gunboats should be dispatched nor that Marines should be landed, as was done in previous decades to protect American capital south of the border. We merely suggest that the government do some quiet but effective arm-twisting down in Venezuela. And we suggest that the United States loudly call attention of the United Nations to the Venezuelan situation.

Some people may reply that it is none of the United States' business what goes on in Venezuela. That's a nice thought from a naively idealistic point of view but in the light of 1952 practical politics it is pure hypocrisy. Our government has stuck its nose into the affairs of nearly every nation on the face of the earth at one time or another when it has served the interests of this nation and its security to do so.

### WALL STREET COLONY

In interfering with the Venezuelan dictatorship the U.S. probably would be running into a head-on battle with American capitalism. Venezuela is one of Wall Street's richest colonies.

We become sick at the stomach when we think of the fact that American oil companies are in the midst of the act in Venezuela. The fact that U.S. oil companies are playing footsie with the dictators in Venezuela represents a new low in morality for the oil industry.

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*As I See It*

# Ike The Ignorant

by Norman Thomas

CHICAGO—God must love America or the nation would fare worse. Certainly the spectacle of our great quadrennial Republican and Democratic conventions is not encouraging. Yet it can be said for the Republicans that they could have done worse. They might have nominated General MacArthur instead of General Eisenhower. From a democratic angle, the difference in favor of General Eisenhower is important. MacArthur is in many ways a brilliant man but a supreme egotist.

It was a fortunate thing for the country that his keynote speech to the convention aroused no such enthusiasm as his speech to Congress after his recall. But in Chicago, there always was a strong current of support for him. Among his supporters, the kind of people who have supported Gerald L. K. Smith were conspicuous. It would not be fair to call MacArthur himself a fascist but the MacArthur movement had dangerous fascist possibilities.

Eisenhower's nomination is probably better for the country than Taft's would have been. This because of what both men, rightly or wrongly, have come to symbolize in the minds of Americans and even more of foreigners. Moreover, the crowd around Taft was on the whole more reactionary than the crowd around Eisenhower.

Nevertheless, it is ridiculous and dangerously ridiculous for newspapers and others to talk so piously about the triumph of virtue and liberalism at the Republican Convention.

As a matter of fact, Eisenhower has been clearly to the right of Taft on domestic issues, so far as he understands them at all. He has an attractive personality and a great record in his chosen field. But it is a little short of shocking that a man should seek the high office of president without taking more trouble to inform himself on issues.

**GREAT IGNORANCE**

His ignorance is very great. And, prior to the convention, he wasn't improving. In Dallas, Texas, when asked about the system of oil taxation which is so easy on the oil millionaires, he said that he didn't know anything about it but would "ask an oilman." This is a good deal like asking Frank Costello how to deal with crime.

Previously he had slapped all democratic socialists in the face by the remarks which we have discussed in the CALL. Having

done this, he proceeded to slap the French by telling the Chicago convention that half the French were atheists or agnostics and of low moral fibre. This is a poor illustration of Eisenhower's vaunted leadership in uniting the free peoples of the world.

The Republican platform is, if anything, a little worse than usual. One pledge or one sentence frequently contradicts another. Yet this document was rushed through, without discussion, in less than five minutes in a convention which then spent five and a half hours on synthetic demonstrations for candidates.

**CONTEMPT FOR WORKERS**

By and large the Republican Party is a party of the middle and upper classes. This year's convention made less effort than usual to include workers. No labor man spoke. There was something close to contempt for labor's power at the polls, as can be seen by comparing the way the platform deals with labor and with the farm interests.

Senator Richard Nixon, vice-presidential nominee, is in labor's bad books for a lot of his votes, but the convention ignored that in remembering how he beat Helen Gahagan Douglas in the California senatorial race and how Taft beat Little Joe Ferguson in Ohio.

In other words, the showing labor has been making lately has invited the rather contemptuous attitude of its opponents. Labor went into the Democratic convention where it was far better represented than in the Republican decidedly weaker because of conservative Harry Byrd's decisive victory in the Virginia Democratic primary. He won even in the cities where labor was thought to have some strength.

**SOAK THE POOR**

A recent Gallup poll on the millionaires' amendment, fixing a 25 per cent limit on income tax levies, is even more striking an example of the job socialists have to do to educate the workers. According to the Gallup poll, this limitation of federal taxation on any income to a maximum of 25% is approved by more than 60% of all sections of the population. Manual workers gave a slightly higher majority for it than business or professional people, and white collar workers vied with farmers in enthusiasm.

It is against this background that we socialists have to push our educational work in this presidential campaign.

## Jouhaux, French Labor Leader, Heads Democratic Peace Drive

A democratic equivalent of the Communist-led Partisans of Peace movement has been launched by Leon Jouhaux, French labor leader and winner of the Nobel prize for peace last year.

Jouhaux announced that a world-wide organization called Fighting Democracy, which would seek to coordinate public opinion in all democratic countries in favor of peace, liberty and social progress, would be formed and an international assembly convened, probably in Paris, sometime in 1953.

Working with M. Jouhaux is Henri Laugier, former assistant secretary general of the United Nations. Appeals have gone out in France and abroad to organizations and individuals and M. Jouhaux said the response had been favorable.

A provisional international committee is being organized. National committees will be formed by representatives of labor groups and non-governmental organizations working for peace.

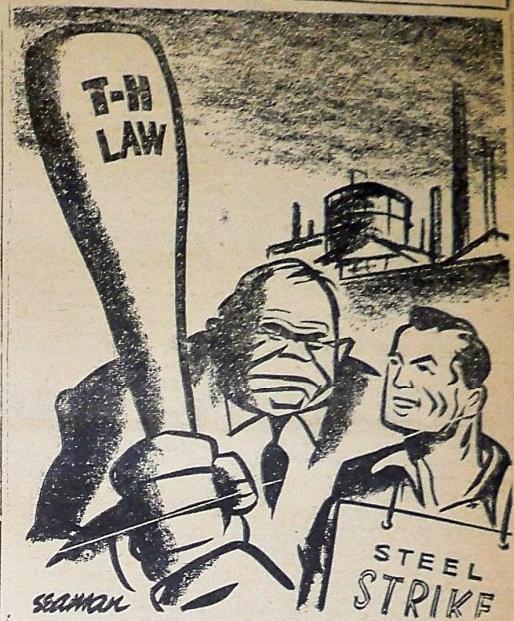
The national committees in

turn will organize local committees, which will recruit as many persons as possible in each community.

According to present plans, a national congress will be organized in each country not later than next April.

Jouhaux said that because the League of Nations, after World War I, took little heed of popular opinion, the people became indifferent and skeptical toward the possibility of safeguarding peace.

"The day when skepticism en-

**"Yeah, But Can It Make Steel?"**

## RFC Hands Out \$94 Million To Branch Of Copper Cartel

Does "free enterprise" mean that the U.S. takes the risk while Big Business pockets the profits? It seemed that way last week when the Reconstruction Finance Corporation agreed to lend \$94 million, the largest sum ever granted to a private corporation, to help the San Manuel Copper Corporation develop rich copper deposits in Arizona.

But the corporation is not quite ready to go ahead with the program for boosting the supply of copper. Though assured it won't lose on the project, with the R.F.C. taking most of the risk, it now wants a second guarantee from the government.

This second pledge is expected to be made shortly, in the form of a "purchase contract" from the Defense Material Procurement Agency, under which the government will promise to buy the company's output of copper at a fixed price, probably for the next 10 years.

That doesn't mean that Uncle Sam is assured of the copper at this price. He gets it only if the company cannot find a private purchaser who will pay more.

The R.F.C. loan went through in the face of criticism on Capitol Hill, based on the fact that the San Manuel corporation is owned by Magma Copper Company, which, in turn, is controlled by the Newmont Mining Corporation, an immensely wealthy "cartel" with mining interests throughout the world.

## Socialists Ask Aid In Petition Drive In Upstate New York

The Socialist Party in New York needs help—and plenty of it—if the names of Darlington Hoopes and Samuel H. Friedman are to appear on the ballot as candidates for president and vice-president.

Petitions containing names of voters from every county in New York state must be obtained, between July 31 and August 15.

You can help. See historic upstate New York, while gathering petitions for the Socialist Party.

If you can devote a day, a week-end, or a week to this important job, write or call Phyllis Gangel, 303 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y. GRamersey 5-6621. Arrangements for travel and living expenses will be made.

1. Education of peoples on social, political and economic problems.
2. Careful study of solutions put forward by various governments on questions of disarmament, technical assistance, unemployment and rights of man.
3. Adoption of a common policy carrying solutions for these problems, which will be submitted to governments in the name of the movement.